1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

undergo a modified form of purification at the same time. They would expect to share in the benefits of his power, but unless they took precautions it would harm them.

It was during his[1] period of seclusion that visions came. Here two contradictory ideas had to be reconciled, for the neophyte was expected to learn from others, as well as dreaming for himself. The visions generally followed a pattern of visions recounted to him in standardized recitations by his "ceremonial father." This "made father" (*ókta*) was chosen by the neophyte from the men who had been through the experience previously. The lines of behavior follow those of a society initiation, yet the "made fathers" were not a society. Perhaps it was the semi-nomadic life of the Papago which prevented their closer organization, but they remained individuals, gathering in groups only on special occasions.

The neophyte might learn recitations and songs by rote from his "made father," and this in itself gave him power. Also, the animals were supposed to find him particularly pleasing during his purification and to choose this time for their visits. In this way the idea of the guardian spirit and of a form of priestly initiation were reconciled. Ultimately the neophyte was free. The informal group of ceremonial fathers received him back into the community, singing the songs that ratified his power, blowing purifying smoke over him, and finally calling him by the kinship term. The new *siakam*, or ripe man,[18] was now eligible to take part again in community life.

There was another purificatory process—so like the three already mentioned that it has been classed with them—the segregation of girls at puberty, an ancient rite, far more widespread in the Papago area than any purification for men. It involved the same features: segregation, partial fasting, use of the scratching stick, cold baths, and the avoidance of looking at the sun or at fire.

Obviously, the power which comes upon a girl of nubile age was thought similar to that dangerous magic which men could acquire only by effort. It had the same effect of making the girl dangerous

[18] Cf. the Keresan use of *crude* (raw) to denote those who belong to no society (Dumarest, p. 198; White, 1935, pp. 155, 167). The Zuni, according to Cushing, speak of mankind as "done, baked, ripe" and of the animals and animal gods as "raw" (Cushing, 1880–81, p. 198).

[1] [i.e., man undergoing purification after having performed a ritual act which contaminated him.—Analyst]

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

not only to herself but also to others until she had been purified. But the ceremony in her case was negative, nullifying evil, but conferring no positive reward. Whereas the man fasted almost to starvation, the girl fasted only formally. While the man was received into the fellowship of initiates, the girl was merely freed from restrictions until she next became dangerous. The dance, with license, which followed was a thoroughly practical expedient, making the women available to the village as future mothers rather than conferring any personal benefit upon them.[16] Perhaps we might think of the psychological attitude here as similar to that of the Aztecs, which equated the child-bearing woman with the warrior.

Failure to complete the ceremony in any of these cases meant danger, both to the individual and to the community. If a "ripe man" did not guard and "feed" his fetish properly, "he could make us all sick." If a girl omitted her ceremony, her village might be struck by lightning. This constantly expressed fear of the misuse of power is one of the basic elements in Papago religion. Shaman, eagle killer, enemy slayer, salt pilgrim, and woman were objects of constant suspicion, lest their supernatural contacts should be improperly treated. Few groups have placed so many people in this category or demanded such rigorous purification.

The final objective of every ordeal was rain and food. The girl's ceremony had its fertility features, to aid the growth of corn. The man became a rainbringer, for, said informants, if he had been through all three purifications, he achieved the title *sîiwanyi*, the word used for the rain magicians of the ruined great houses. Papago religion, oriented to the stark essentials of life, channeled all its ceremonies toward the goal expressed in the growth rituals: "Thus I shall feed my children and my relatives, coming from afar."

[16] Sahagún, Seler, pp. 304-5.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

11

GIRLS' PUBERTY DANCE

THE dance for girls at puberty has here been classified with 881
the rituals of purification because its fundamentals are undoubtedly the same. However, it is simpler than the purifying of men and involves only the negative process of getting rid of contamination without the positive result of obtaining power. A Papago man who underwent purification had first committed some act putting him in contact with supernatural power but, with a girl, such contact was involuntary. At the period of maturity, she automatically became the vehicle of a terrific force, and the emphasis of the succeeding ceremony was not on her dreams or her future career, but on the controlling of this force.

The mysterious power which descended periodically upon 841
women was thought to be entirely incompatible with the life and activities of men. A male who touched a menstruating woman might die, and even to see her would cause weakness. Contact with her would take the strength from his weapons and poison his food. For the sake of the community, therefore, she must be segregated whenever the magic came upon her, and every family had a hut where its women could be sent at the proper time.

A girl at puberty remained in this hut for four days and un- 881
derwent the usual restrictions of a retreat: cold bath, abstinence from meat, grease, and salt, prohibition against looking at the sun or at fire, against talking loud or scratching her head.[1] But, as has been mentioned, her fast was purely formal, not a test of

[1] For detailed account of menstruation restrictions see Underhill, 1939, pp. 163–67.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

endurance. She learned no ritual, and instead of sitting and awaiting a dream, she was expected to work particularly hard. Dreams were unnecessary, since her future career as a bearer of children was already settled and special power would come into her life only when it was obtained by her husband and automatically extended to her.

But it was very important that her character should be set on lines of virtue and industry. The Papago shared the belief common in the area that first menstruation is a time of special sensitivity, when tendencies are established for all time. Therefore, during these four days it was essential that the girl rise early and fetch quantities of wood and water as she would need to do in later life. She must grind corn, work at basketry, and, in fact, not allow herself an idle moment. The only reference to dreaming during this period is the statement: "If she worked hard, the *kots* (a magic serpent) would come and teach her basketry designs."(26)

The family selected some female relative, on either side, who was noted for her industry to be the girl's instructress. This cicerone cared for her charge in the segregation hut for four days, but must continue to exercise her in habits of industry "until the moon came round to where it was before." Sometimes they remained in the hut for this probationary period, or they might go to the home of the instructress or of the girl. At the end of this month came a second four days of seclusion and then a ceremony with a shaman, entirely similar to the christening of a baby and the purification of a mother after childbirth.

During the month of partial segregation a dance[2] was held to help in purifying the girl and to make her "breathe out the danger." This ceremonial, the *wudka*, was one of the oldest Papago institutions. Its origin is not even described in the myths, for it "was there from the beginning." It was at this dance that Elder Brother made himself so obnoxious that the people decided to kill him. It was a time of gaiety and of permissible license. Anyone, but particularly the song leader, had a perfect right to sexual liberties. The rituals even mention "songs with which to approach a maiden at her puberty dance."

[2] Russell (pp. 182–83) describes a similar girl's puberty dance for the Pima.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

In the southern part of the reservation the dance lasted four nights(29); in the northern part, a whole month. It was given wherever the family happened to be, either in camp or in a permanent village. "We used to have good times in cactus camp," one informant said, "because somebody would be sure to reach puberty, and then we would dance all the time."(26)

The length of the time of dancing depended on the wealth of the girl's parents, since they must give a meal to the dancers every night. Poor people might omit the dance entirely, trusting to purification by the shaman to relieve the girl from danger. People who were well supplied sent word to neighboring villages and camps as soon as the girl's four-day seclusion was over, and crowds arrived every night to join in the gaiety.

There were several men in any village who knew the appropriate songs. These they might have dreamed during some period of purification, or they might have learned them from others. The position of song leader for this dance was a popular one, since the leader danced next to the maiden. He and other men dancers received no pay except a meal at midnight. Their enjoyment of the dance came from the license permitted. The young girl dancers received gifts from the maiden, "because they stayed up all night with her." If the dance lasted a month, she generally, when it ended, had disposed of all her clothes and ornaments except what she wore.

In this dance men and women stood side by side in two lines which faced each other. They placed their arms over each other's shoulders and pulled their blankets across in front of them to make an unbroken covering for the whole line. This was the only dance where such close contact was permitted.

At the end of one line danced the song leader, with the maiden at his left and the rattle in his right hand. His wife danced opposite. The lines walked back and forth toward each other singing, for there was no choir on this occasion. After each four songs they rested, though the girl herself was not supposed to sit down. Her family provided a nonintoxicating drink of cactus juice or some brew of berries and fruit. For the meal at midnight they might kill a deer or provide a stew of rabbits, beans, and corn.

If the dance lasted a month, more than one song leader had to

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

881 be called in. Men who heard of the performance often came from
532 great distances. There was a standard technique for use of the
533 rattle. Before midnight it was shaken with a circular motion to the right; after midnight it was shaken vertically. Puberty songs often did not concern the girl, but referred to any dreams of the composer. There was a standard ending, *mim*, or *mum* which sounds like a prolongation of the suffix for continued action.

881 Songs were recorded from two informants, both official singers
x539 for the dance. The series of each has been grouped separately.

FIRST SERIES(16)[2]

1. The sun is setting;
   Here I stand and begin to sing.
   A cloud stands over the segregation hut
   In front of Reed Mountain.
   All the clouds I am taking.

2. Poor little maiden!
   In the evening you will clasp hands.
   In the evening I arrive and hasten hither.
   Hither I hasten and sing;
   Songs follow each other in order.

3. Poor little maiden!
   Four nights you will sing.
   I stand, and songs begin.
   Come, run hither! come, run hither!
   Songs begin!

4. Evening is falling.
   At evening I run.
   Far, far, to Baboquívari
   I run and run back.

5. Lo, it is the duck children!
   In the water they swim.
   Thither I run and hear them talking.
   The water is murmuring.

[2] Russell (p. 250) quotes one song as belonging definitely to *wooka* (Papago, *wuuka*) girl's puberty. A number of others, variously classified, are in the style of the Papago songs, with their mention of wind, butterflies, etc. See Russell, pp. 292, 295–97, 306, 312, 322.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

881
539

6. Many clouds
Float on the mountain,
Float on the mountain.
Before it I am standing;
Wretched, I am standing.

7. In front of Baboquíviri Mountain
A cloud stands.
Toward it I run.
Hither and yon
Drunken I run.

8. Horse Mountain stands alone;
I entered it and looked.
Then on the summit I looked.
Hither and yon I ran.

9. The stars fell;
The stars fell.
To the top of the mountain
I came.

10. The outspread water! [ocean]
Many birds, singly, [flew out],
All making different sounds.
It is dark;
The wind blows.

11. The black crow
Knows nothing.
The little blackbirds
Made everything.
There they erected a mountain;
Yonder, a red mountain.

12. Long Mountain
Stands far away.
In front of it
Songs begin, begin;
Here, in front of it, they begin.

13. The shining mocking bird
At evening could not sleep.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

● 881
×539

When the moon was in mid-sky
He ran to the puberty dance.
At early dawn
High did he raise his song.

14. Crane birds!
At early morning
I saw them over yonder.
When day came, they descended,
Calling.

15. Come all! Stand up!
Just over there the dawn is coming.
Then [I hear]
Soft laughing.

SECOND SERIES(17)

16. On Baboquiviri Peak
There is fire.
I reached it and saw.
The wind blew hard,
And all the ground
Was shining.

17. I stood there, Elder Brother.
I stood there, Elder Brother.
All night it blew, Elder Brother,
All night.

18. On the flat land
A rainhouse stands,
Covered with clouds.
Very white, it stands.
Butterfly wings are about it.
I like it.
I saw it all.

19. The singing place
Of the Monster Woman!
Around it many feathers are placed.
Many evenings and dawns appear.
It is windy.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

881
539*

20. Horse Mountains [in Mexico]!
Night came over them;
There I stood.
I stood with others in a circle,
An opening at each side.
Then I awoke.

21. I knew not [what befell me]
Darkness followed me.
It [knocked me down
And] rolled me over and over
Westward.
Light was stretching out.

22. Inside Baboquíviri
There is a roaring, roaring.
From within it a cloud comes forth.
These fields it will moisten.

23. Lo, the maiden!
In the west, one by one,
Songs begin.
Toward them I make my way.

24. On I'itoi's singing place we stand;
All over it we run.
The dawn is coming,
And there the gourd rattle sounds.

25. Yonder I ran,
Yonder where the sloping road lies;
I ran along it.
What am I doing
All over the earth?

26. Above Quijotoa Mountain
Stand terraced clouds.
Above them the mocking bird sings,
Flapping his wings.

27. Darkness reverberates;
It rolls me over and over.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

260
881
539

GIRLS' PUBERTY DANCE

Beside the singing place
I lie down.
[Darkness] reverberates.

28. I know not what I do;
Here I am lying.
Now I leap up.
Circling, I sing.
I go about.
I leap up.
Circling, I sing.

881 The girls' puberty ceremony is no longer performed. Only the 343 oldest people remembered its details. Segregation huts, however, 184 are still used in some remote districts. 177

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

"I can never forget what my father told me," various informants have stated. "I heard it every morning, even before I was old enough to understand." "I was little," said one (26), "and I would go to sleep. Then my father would pinch my ear. 'Wake up and listen. Let my words enter your ears and your head'."

This constant, though unaggressive, repetition of the principles of living must have had, as did the speeches at the council meeting the effect of producing a unity of sentiment in the community as profound as it was unconscious.

GIRLS' PUBERTY AND MENSTRUATION

The puberty of boys was not signalized. For girls, the puberty ceremony centered on obviating the malignant effects of menstruation and, secondarily, on making the girl industrious for the rest of her life.

Menstruation was regarded with horror. The touch of a menstruating woman could weaken a man and take all power from his weapons. The taint of it would cause the deer to avoid a hunter, cause a shaman's crystals to rot and tobacco plants to shrivel up. Therefore, for a menstruating women not to segregate herself was a crime against the community. Men were urged nightly in the council meeting to see that their women obeyed the rule. The punishment for disobedience was usually a supernatural one: lightning or flood would destroy the family of the offender or, possibly, her whole village.

First menstruation was particularly malignant. For announcing it, for having the girl ritually cleansed, and for instructing her as to her future responsibility in the matter, the father and mother were held responsible. In old days a father could be whipped for laxity in this respect, or the mother, if the father could prove ignorance. Mothers watched their girls very closely and at the appearance of first menstruation, the girl was sent to the regular segregation hut. Here she stayed four days. She was given a new pottery bowl and a drinking cup, into which women poured the food which they brought her from the house; she was allowed no meat or salt; she was given a scratching stick and must not touch her hair on pain of losing it.

Generally an older woman relative was appointed as the girl's instructress, though if the family were away camping, the mother would serve. The idea was that if the girl practised industry and alertness at this time, she would have those virtues for the rest of her life. She was waked very early in the morning and taken to fetch water and wood, a Papago woman's chief duties. She might

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

881 leave her burden outside her father's house, but she must not go in. In the rest of her time she practised making basketry. Her instructress told her:

"Work hard. Practise running every day; you will need to run when the Apache come. When you go to sleep, tired, the *kots* (a magic serpent) will come and show you designs for basketry. If you are industrious, some day you will meet an old man (circumlocution for "some day you will marry a young man"; the informant said this expression was considered more modest). When you are married, do not interfere with your husband. Never object when he goes away. If you do not let him go he cannot hunt and you will have nothing to eat. You will have to go to your neighbors. They will feed you, but they will talk about you behind your back." (1)

The instructress continually urged the girl not to sleep at this time, or she would be sleepy all her life; not to be idle, or she would be so always. During her four days, other young girls might visit her at the hut, whether or not they had menstruated. Non-menstruating women might come but menstruants must not. That would be too "strong". None of the visitors must touch her.

After four days the girl was given a bath in water as cold as possible and for this purpose, a new porous jar was made, as it was for the warrior during his retreat. At dawn the girl knelt, facing the east, while the mother or instructress poured the water over her head, saying:

"Hail!
I shall pour this over you.
You will be one who endures cold.
You will think nothing of it."

Her extreme seclusion was now over. According to some, she might now go back to her father's house, though she must still refrain from salt and use the scratching stick. According to others, she remained at the menstruation hut for another four days. In either case, at the end of four days she had another bath.

881 535 Meantime the puberty dance had begun. In some villages it lasted for a month, in others for four days. The period also depended on whether the family was in camp where they had little to feed the dancers, or in the summer village where there was plenty.

The father announced the girl's maturity and the whole village came to the house at sunset. They formed in two lines facing each other, composed of men and women alternately, their arms over each others' shoulders. Where they wore cotton blankets obtained from the Pimas, these were held in a line across the backs. At the

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

end of one line danced the song leader, any man who knew the puberty cycle. He held a rattle in his right hand while his left arm was across the shoulders of the girl. His wife danced opposite.

The lines went with a running motion toward each other and then back wheeling a little so that they finally covered a complete circle. There was no fire: "We got warm dancing." They danced through the night and at midnight were given a meal of succotash by the girl's family. The girl was expected to dance all of every night, though the other dancers came and went. In the course of a month or even of a night, there might be several singers, as one man got tired and another took his place. At the end of the month the girl made presents to all her girl friends who had danced often and "gone without sleep" with her. One informant said that when her dance was over, she had nothing left. She had given her deerskin dress, all her beads, her pots, sleeping mat and baskets (27).

"I got so thin, so thin! We girls are all like that at our puberty time. Running all day with the carrying basket and no rest. Before dawn that woman who taught me would come and say, 'Get up. Get water, get wood. Do you want to be lazy all your life?' So then we would go running, running over the mountains. When we got home, I slept a little. It seemed I had hardly shut my eyes before they were telling me, 'The dancers are here. Go out and dance.' I did not want to dance. I used to, when I was a little girl and watched them. But now I only wanted to sleep. But my father would say, 'Here comes the singer. Better go out or he'll drag you out. He's mean.'"[1]

The puberty ceremony, according to the oldest informants, was a time for promiscuity, (26, 27) which apparently had the connotation of fertility magic. It is one of the practises connected, in the myths, with the first inhabitants of the land and the reason why Elder Brother, the creator, offended these first inhabitants, was that he, an accomplished singer for the ceremony, used his privileges with girls beyond all bounds.[2]

At the end of the dancing period, the girl was given another bath at dawn and then she went to the shaman for cleansing. The rite was similar to the cleansing after childbirth. The shaman drew a circle on the ground, within which the girl sat, at the east with her back to the rising sun. The shaman stood facing east and walked

[1] In this dancing ceremony there is no suggestion of the "baking" which occurs in nearby California. However, touuwa, to reach puberty, and touuwam, girl at puberty, come from the same root as touwa, to bake.

[2] Cf. the Yuman reason for killing the creator: that he had raped his daughter. Kroeber, 1925, p. 790.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

four times up to her and back, each time blowing on the top of her head and brushing her off with his eagle plumes. He then mixed yellow clay in a basket bowl, stirring it with a feather and gave it to her to drink. After this he marked her with the feather dipped in clay, on heart, forehead, right arm, left arm. Some shamans then gave her a new name which was, like the name for a baby, anything he had dreamed. It would seem, since this name came at the end of the purification period that it should have been used, not during that period, but permanently. But informants said that they were usually called by their old birth names. One woman who had been named at puberty cha-wila (untranslatable) had never used the name at all.

The shaman was paid with some small gift like a basket and the girl was free to mingle with people again. At her following menstruation period she must again use the scratching stick, but after that, it was not required. She must always go to the menstruation hut for four days and must use the dishes kept there, not touching those of the family. One informant said that, when a woman was married, her husband must also use separate dishes during her period. These were kept outside the house and only brought in when necessary (26).

The same informant, who had not menstruated for a year after her puberty dance, suddenly menstruated again after marriage. It was thought necessary that both she and her young husband should be "danced" and then purified. They danced for a month but since the husband also was concerned, she did not go to the menstruation hut. Both remained in the family house and observed continence.

In the life of a woman after puberty, conscientious segregation once a month ranked as the chief virtue. Chastity was scarcely stressed at all in comparison and even industry took second place. Since knowledge of her state rested entirely with the woman, she had opportunity to conceal it and personal narratives abound in tales of the dire consequences of such an act.

"There was a girl in our village who became dangerous and she did not tell. One day all the village was planting in her father's field and he had given them a meal of succotash. They were eating out in the field; her mother was cooking over a campfire. It began to rain. This girl and her sisters ran home to take in the bedding because we sleep out-of-doors in summer and it was on the ground. There was a crash of thunder. All the eating people stood still and then from the house of that girl they heard a long sigh. They ran there. All the sisters were lying stunned on the floor, one was blind

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

and this girl was dead. The men dragged them out into the rain and the house began to burn. Her relatives buried that girl all alone and no one would go near." (26) 841

"Then there was a girl who was going to build a fire and it seemed that it reached out and took her and burned her up." (26)

"And there was another whose mother was struck by lightning. Because when a woman commits this fault, anyone in her family may be punished. That is why, when the lightning strikes a village, they send for the shaman to see what woman was dangerous. He summons all the girls and looks at his crystals to see whose fault it was. They don't punish that girl. She knows that she has killed her relatives and that is enough." (26)

Women admit that an intrepid woman, if she were particularly busy, might conceal her state for a day or two. "But not more. She would be too much afraid." She might also practise the reverse procedure and keep her husband from going to war by telling him falsely that she was menstruating. An injury like this would be far less likely to be forgiven by a husband than would unfaithfulness.

As a rule, the women found the four days segregation no burden. Rather it was a pleasant chance to sit still and give up the household responsibility. They took their basketry to the hut where all women, except first menstruants, might visit them. The groups gambled, sang and told stories. No man might shout to the menstruant or even look at her from a distance. A tale recounts that once a woman in the segregation hut saw an approaching party of Apaches. She shouted to some men in the fields but they would not turn round nor watch her signals and she dared not approach, so the Apaches attacked the village. Another local tale says that a woman who frequently quarrelled with her husband would on each occasion retire to the hut whence he was powerless to get her back. He had to move the family before she would come out. [578]

The segregation custom is still in use, though not so widely as formerly. [177]

DREAM POWER AND CHOICE OF CAREER

The puberty of the youth was not signalized. Even though he married, he continued in his father's house without much change in status until he achieved some noteworthy deed which stamped him an adult. There was no ceremony or definite crisis. He began to take part in men's affairs; ultimately would be consulted and would speak in the council. 881 884

Papago life admitted of a number of specializations. A man could be a leader or a ceremonial officiant, a planter, hunter, 463 787

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

V

When I was nearly as tall as my mother, that thing happened to me which happens to all our women though I do not know if it does to the Whites; I never saw any signs. It is called menses. 159x 881

Girls are very dangerous at that time. If they touch a man's bow, or even look at it, that bow will not shoot any more. If they drink out of a man's bowl, it will make him sick. If they touch the man himself, he might fall down dead. My mother had told us this long ago and we knew what had happened in our village.

There was a girl once who became dangerous and she did not tell. They were having a good time that day. All the village was planting in her father's field, and he had given them a meal of succotash. They were eating out in the field, her mother was cooking over a campfire. My mother was there and she said this girl was standing with a bowl in the crook of her arm, laughing and eating. It began to rain. The girl and her sisters ran home to take in the bedding, because we sleep out of doors in the summer and it was on the ground. [476] [513]

There was a crash of thunder. All the eating people stood still and then, from the house of that girl they heard a long sigh. They ran there. All the family were lying stunned on the floor, one sister was blind, and that girl was dead. The men dragged the people out into the rain and the house began to burn. "See," said those people, "what has happened to us." Her relatives buried that girl all alone and no one would go near.

Then there was a girl who was going to build a fire, and it seemed that it reached out, and took her, and burned her up. And there was another whose mother was struck by lightning. For it is not always you who are hurt if you commit this sacrilege; it may be any one in your family.

That is why, when the lightning strikes a village, they send for the medicine man to see what woman was dangerous. He summons all the girls and looks at his crystals to see who did it. They do not punish that woman. It is enough to know that she has killed her friends. [688]

Our mothers watch us, and so mine knew when it came to me. We always had the Little House ready, over behind our own house. It was made of some branches stuck in the ground and tied together at the top, with greasewood thrown over them to make it shady. There was no rain then, for it was winter, but it was cold in that little house. The door was just big enough to crawl through, like our house door, and there was room for you to lie down inside, but not to stand up. My mother made me a new bowl and drinking cup out of clay, and put them in that house. When my [343]

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

when my
mother cooked food at the big house, she would come over and pour some in my bowl, but no meat and nothing with salt in it. My father sharpened a little stick for me to scratch my hair with, because if I touched it, it would fall out. I was so afraid to lose my nice long hair that I kept that stick in my mouth all the time. Even when I was asleep, I had it there.

It is a hard time for us girls, such as the men have when they are being purified. Only they give us more to eat, because we are women. And they do not let us sit still and wait for dreams. That is because we are women, too. Women must work.

They chose my father's cousin to take care of me. She was the most industrious women we had, always running with the carrying basket. That old woman would come for me in the dark when morning-stands-up. "Come," she said. "Let's go for water over across the mountain. Let's go for firewood."

So we would run, far, far across the flat land and up the mountain and bring the water back before daylight. I would leave it outside my father's house and not go in. Then that old woman would talk to me.

"Work hard. If you do not work hard now, you will be lazy all your life. Then no one will want to marry you. You will have to take some good for nothing man for a husband. But if you are industrious, we shall find you a good old man."

That is what we call our husbands: old man. But this woman did it out of modesty, too, so that I should not have young men in my mind. "When you have an old man," she said, "you will grind the corn for him and you will always have water there for him to drink. Never let him go without water. Never let him go without food. He will go to the house of some one else to eat and you will be disgraced."

I listened to her. Do you say that some girls might think of other things and not listen? But I wanted to be a good woman! And I have been. Ask anyone in our village if they ever saw me with idle hands. Or legs, either, when I was younger.

All the girls came around the Little House while that woman talked. They did not come near, because that would not be safe, and she would call to them: "Go away." But they sat and listened and when she was tired of talking, they laughed and sang with me. And we played a game with little stones and a ball. We pick up the stones in different ways with one hand while we catch the ball in the other. Oh, we have good times at the Little House, especially when that first month is over. But other women who were dangerous did not come; that would be too much.

I had to stay four days and then I was not dangerous any more. Every-

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

thing goes by fours with our people, and Elder Brother arranged it that even this thing should be the same. No woman has trouble for more than four days. Then they gave me a bath just as they did to my father. Oh, it was cold in the winter time! I tell the girls who come of age in the summer they do not know what hardship is. The water even feels nice in summer.

My mother came in the dark of the morning with the water in a big new jar. The women had to run all day to get that water ready for me. I tried to get away, but my mother caught me and made me kneel down. Then she dipped a gourd in the jar and poured that cold water down over my forehead.

Hail!
I shall pour this over you.
You will be one who endures cold.
You will think nothing of it.

It is true, I have never felt cold.

Then my mother washed my hair with soapweed fibres. That is the way women should always wash their hair and it will never grow gray. She cut it so it came just to my shoulders, for we women cannot have hair as long as the men; it would get in our way when we work. But we like to have it thick and shiny, and we know that everybody is noticing. There was quite a lapful that my mother cut off, and she saved it to make hair ropes for our carrying baskets. She had new clothes for me; two pieces of unbleached muslin, tied around my waist with a string. We did not know how to sew in those days. We pinned them together over our hips with bought pins, but it was very modest.

Then I could go back to our house, only still I had to use the stick for four days and I could not eat salt. And then they danced me. All that month they danced me, until the moon got back to the place where it had been at first. It is a big time when a girl comes of age; a happy time. All the people in the village knew that I had been to the Little House for the first time, so they come to our house and the singer for the maidens came first of all.

That singer was the Chief's Leg, the man I told you about. He knew all the songs, the ones that Elder Brother first sang when he used to go over the country, dancing all the maidens. That Leg was the man who danced every maiden in our village when she came of age. His wife danced opposite him. She was the one who was to get the hair that my mother had cut off. He had another wife, too, but not such a good dancer.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

"Come out," said my father on that first night. "Now you must dance or the Leg will drag you out. He's mean."

I did not want to dance; I was sleepy and I had run so far. Always when I had heard the others singing those maiden songs, from far away, I had been wild to go. But now it was my turn and all I wanted to do was sleep. But Luis, the Leg, came into the house and took me by the arm. He always danced next to the maiden, with his arm over her shoulders and the rattle in his other hand. He and I were at one end of a long line of people and his wife at the end of a line opposite. There was first a boy and then a girl, all down the line, with their arms over each other's shoulder and the blankets held along at the back. I told you the boys always liked that dance.

The lines went to and fro, toward each other, and they kept wheeling a little, till at last they had made a circle.

On top of Baboquiviri Peak
There is a fire burning.
So near I came.
I saw it blow all over the ground
Shining.

On the flat land
There is a house of clouds.
There stand white butterfly wings (of clouds).
It pleased me. That was what I saw.

Those were the songs they sang, with the rattle going in the night. We had no fire; we kept warm dancing. After every four songs Luis stopped, because his voice was hoarse. Then he let me go, and we girls went and sat together while the men smoked. How dark and cold it was then, with only one ember to light their cigarettes!

There were girls who did not come to sit with us and boys who did not sit with the men. How dark it was! Some mothers went looking for their girls in the night and some did not.

At midnight my mother brought jars of succotash. She had been cooking all day for this dance, and every day after that she cooked and ground corn and baked bread in the ashes. Every morning we gave gifts to Luis and his wife. My cut-off hair and dried beans and cooked food and the hand woven cotton that I wore for a dress. And to the girl friends who danced beside me, I gave my beads and my baskets because these people had suffered and endured sleeplessness with us.

We stopped dancing in the dark of the morning and then my mother

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

said: "Come and get firewood. Do you want to grow up a lazy woman?" /59x
So then I went out in the dark to pick up the dead branches and bring them 881
back before I slept. It seemed I slept only an hour before they were saying:
"Get up! Get water. Get wood. Grind the corn. If you sleep at this time
you will be sleepy all your life."

Oh, I got thin in that time! We girls are like strips of yucca fibre after [262]
our coming of age is over. Always running, and mostly gruel and ash bread
to eat, with no salt. And dancing every night from the time the sun sets
until morning-stands-up. I used to go to sleep on Luis' arm and he pinched
my nose to wake me.

Every night they came, the people who were not too sleepy from the
night before. And always the young people came. Even Luis did not know
songs enough for all that month and other men sang, too. It is a nice thing
for a man to know maidens' songs. Every man likes to dance next to the
maiden and to hold her on his arm. But Luis was an old man and his wife
danced opposite. The wife always does.

At last the moon had come around again and they gave me a bath. It /59x
was over. I looked like half of myself. All my clothes were gone. All our dried 881
corn and beans were eaten up. But I was grown up. Now the medicine man 783
could cleanse me and give me a name.

You have to be cleansed as soon as the month is over; you must not
wait. A cousin of mine did that once. She meant to be cleansed but she
just waited. I think, perhaps, she did not have anything to pay the medicine
man. But while she waited, one of her brothers was chopping wood. Some-
thing fell on him like a hot coal and killed him. So I went the day after my
bath.

My mother and I went to the house of the medicine man early in the
morning, with a big basket my mother had made, to pay him. He drew a
circle on the ground and made me sit in it, crosslegged, with my back to
the rising sun. In front of me he put a little dish. Then he walked away
where we could not see him and took something out of a little deerskin
bag. It was the clay that he carries to charm the evil away from women.
No one ever sees the medicine man dig up that clay and no one knows how [753]
he mixes it. But I know, because my brother was a medicine man and be-
cause I myself have seen things. He grinds up the bone of a dead man and
some owl feathers so that they are fine dust.

He put that clay in a tiny bowl before me, mixed with a little water.
Then he walked up and down four times, facing the sun that was behind
me. Every time he came up to me he blew over my head and dusted me
off with his eagle feathers to brush away the evil. And every time he turned,

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

he made a noise like an owl: hm. The fifth time, he took up the bowl of clay and stirred it around with a little owl feather that was standing in the center of it. Then he put the clay to my mouth. "Drink this up!" So I drank it all.

Then he marked me, the sacred marks that are put on the men who have got salt from the magic ocean; the marks that take away bad luck and bring you a good life. On my breast, on my shoulders, my back, and my belly.

"Your name shall be cha-veela." I did not know before what name he was going to give me; neither did my parents. The medicine man names one from his dreams. Some of my friends had names that could be understood like Leaf Buds, Rustling Leaves, Windy Rainbow, Dawn Murmur. But I have never understood my name and he did not tell me.

After all that work, I did not menstruate again for a year!

VI

My father said to me: "Look, my girl. We are going to marry you, over at that house."

He did not say the boy's name out of modesty, just motioned with his lips eastward down the valley. The place he meant was Where the Water Whirls Around, where I went with my clay jars every time our pond went dry. I knew every house there and the people in them. I knew who the marriageable young man was. It was the medicine man's son. I had never spoken to him; I had never spoken to any young men except relatives and of course we do not marry relatives. But my breasts were getting large, now. That is how we know when a girl should marry. "They ought to be used for something," we say.

So my father and mother had been consulting. It must have been when I was asleep at night for I had not heard them. They had decided on a man to ask and then my father had sent my mother to tell my aunts and uncles about it. They all approved. They had not told the boy yet. That is done last of all. But of course no man would refuse, even if he already had a first wife. It would not be polite.

My father went on talking to me in a low voice. That is how our people always talk to their children, so low and quiet the child thinks he is dreaming it. But he never forgets.

"We want you to behave yourself as we have always taught you to. Stay there in the right way. Don't wait for your mother-in-law to tell you what to do. Get up early, find wheat, grind flour. If you can't make tortillas, have flour ready for her to make them. You stay right there and make

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

THE CHILD FROM ELEVEN TO EIGHTEEN

At adolescence, however, the general dominance of the male becomes very clear. Though a young man's authority may be held in check by the seniority rule, boys are free to come and go as they please when their help is not needed in farming or herding, and they may begin to work for wages. They expect their sisters and the other women of the household to feed them and keep their clothes clean for them at home.

Adult women have much less control over a boy when he reaches adolescence. He is sometimes asked—never commanded—to do some household chore which requires strength, but his compliance is regarded as a favor. He associates almost completely with men or boys his own age; women no longer have much to say about where he goes and how he conducts himself, whether or not he should go drinking or courting. His mother and grandmother may lecture or try to persuade him, but he will not necessarily do as they wish unless the father or grandfather backs them up. Yet the boy has affection and respect for his mother and grandmother, and their influence, though perhaps indirect, is strong.

At home the adolescent girl joins freely in conversation with her brothers and other male relatives. She understands that a woman's duties include supplying men with meals and clean clothes, and these tasks she expects to do unassisted should the occasion arise. She depends on the men to take her to town or to fiestas; she considers them kind and generous if they do, and she hopes that her future husband will be as good to her. But a girl does not complain if the men make five trips to her one; because they are men, that is to be expected. She is respectful to her father and grandfather and affectionate as well, though demonstrating this affection would be thought in bad taste. With all the men of the household the girl is completely casual, although she would not leave the environs with any of them unless another woman were with her.

Even the newly acquired rights of boys and girls increase their responsibility to the family. By the time the Papago child is adolescent and can make more decisions for himself, he is conditioned to make these decisions not in terms of his own desires alone but in terms of the welfare of the whole household. If his judgments are unwise, his elders' question, "What will people think?" does not mean "think of you" but "think of us all." He is constantly reminded of his role as a member of a functioning family unit.

THE GIRL BECOMES A WOMAN

In the old days the Papago girl during one period in her life was the center of family interest and activity. This was at the time of her first menstruation, which signalized her readiness for marriage. During this time the girl was

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

881 thought to have strong powers of good and evil. She was segregated in the menstrual hut, and her diet was restricted. An older woman relative instructed her in her duties as a woman and bade her work hard during her segregation so that she would be industrious all her life. Before the family rose each morning she fetched wood and water for them, but she could not enter the house or see or speak to her male relatives, lest she bring evil to them. During the day she worked diligently at basketry and talked with the women who came to visit her. She was ritually bathed in cold water on the fourth and eighth day, when her segregation was ended, and the celebration of her maturity began.

Every night for a month the girl was feasted by her family and other relatives. Special song cycles were sung, and the girl and her friends spent all night in a ritual dance. At the end of the month she went to a medicine man to be purified with sacred eagle feathers and a drink of magic white clay mixed with water. Sometimes she was given a new name which the medicine man had dreamed.

A girl's readiness for marriage is no longer celebrated with dance and feasting, but the purification ceremony is still very prevalent. This rite is necessary because the girl is in a condition dangerous not only to herself but to all her relatives; unless she is made clean, she may bring sickness and death to any of them. The story is told of a girl at boarding school who was not purified because there was no one to perform the rite; this was considered the cause of her uncle's death. Another child refused the ceremony; later her little brother was bitten by a rattlesnake, and to this day she is called "the girl who killed her brother." There are many such tales which emphasize the still prevailing belief in this rite. Decision to undergo the ritual is not a matter of personal taste. The girl is never forced to drink the white clay, but powerful pressure reminds her of her responsibility to the family.

582 583 In the old days the puberty rite was followed almost immediately by marriage. Now, as a rule, girls do not marry before they are at least sixteen, but they spend much time and thought in preparation for marriage. The adolescent girl learns to cook, launder, keep house, and care for children. She helps in the field with the bean harvest, husks, shells, and parches corn, and prepares the squash for drying. In summer she gathers saguaro fruit and learns to make jam and syrup. By the time she is eighteen she is quite capable of taking complete charge, should it be necessary. During adolescence she probably also learns how to weave baskets. This craft is useful in itself and often brings income which is regarded as the girl's own.

883 It is usually a girl's mother or grandmother who specifies her tasks and admonishes her. It is also these two who arrange to get her the new dresses or

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

THE CHILD FROM ELEVEN TO EIGHTEEN

Shortly after the little girls start the dancing (imitative ballroom style), the adolescent girls begin. They dance together in the afternoon, for it is not until evening that boys and men join the group. Then all through the night and perhaps until noon the next day, the girls dance—usually with boys their own age, sometimes with men, otherwise with each other. Only the youngest of the adolescents—the girls of eleven and twelve—do not dance with males. Etiquette requires that the man come over to the bench where the girl is sitting to ask her to dance. He does not choose a partner until the music starts, hence there is no opportunity for conversation between dances. When boy and girl dance together, they do not talk or laugh; both are silent and completely serious. The instant the music stops, they break the embrace and go rapidly to opposite sides of the dance ground. There is little other opportunity for social intercourse between them at the dances, and girls are not supposed to leave the lighted area of the fiesta ground except to go into church infrequently to rest.

THE BOY GROWS UP

No ceremony marks the puberty of a boy, but just as certainly as the girl he is oriented toward the world of adults. When he is about eleven years old, a boy begins helping the men of the household. He learns to plow, plant, hoe, and harvest crops; to herd, rope, and brand cattle in the co-operative roundups; to care for horses, build fences, and repair buildings. Gradually, as his strength and skill increase, he learns to do a man's full share of work. No longer does he merely do odd jobs assigned him at intervals; whenever he is not at school, he is expected to help with the work at hand until it is finished.

From this time on his leisure at home as well as his working hours will be spent mostly with the men of the household. Occasionally the teen-age boy will handle a small child or try to get him to walk or talk, and once in a while he may condescend to join his younger brothers in a game of marbles. Away from home older boys as well as girls show considerable concern for their younger siblings' welfare and proper conduct, but in the family group the adolescent boy is definitely associated with the men; he sits and talks with them while his younger brothers dash about the yard. If the family includes a man in his early twenties, the youth will probably be on intimate terms with him.[1] He is now closer to his father than at any time since babyhood, for his father teaches him and works side by side with him. Like all the men, the boy has great respect for his grandfather and works under his direction. It is the grandfather who talks about proper conduct, teaching the lad that a good Papago is honest and industrious and lives at peace with his fellow-men.

1. This relationship is comparable in many respects with that of five-to-ten-year-old girls with young women of the households (see chap. ii).

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

The Wakita

881 The puberty dance of the Papago was called *Wakita*. A young girl on her maturity was isolated for four days in the care of an older woman, not a relative. They prepared their own meals and ate together and the young girl occupied much of her time in making a basket which she gave to the older woman. It was part of this woman's duty to instruct the girl in the tribal ethics regarding women and also to teach her such simple household tasks as she had not already learned. During this time the girl was not allowed to taste salt and was required to use a stick in scratching her hair or body. [533] The maturity of a young girl was regarded with awe and songs were sung to "cure her."

881 Soon after her isolation the parents of the girl gave a feast if they could afford it, also a dance which continued four nights, the people 533 gathering in the evening and dancing all night. The principal songs 535 were those received in dreams. One man led the singing, and sang each song slowly so the others could learn it, then he said, "hoi, hoi," in an encouraging manner and they all sang. In old times these songs were accompanied by the shaking of a gourd rattle. The girl for whom the ceremony was given stood next to the leading singer. She was not allowed to sit down during the entire night, though the dancers rested after each song. Her face was not painted and there was no change from her usual manner of dress. At midnight the people partook of the feast provided by her parents.

Men and women joined in the dance, standing in long lines facing each other. The men and women did not alternate but stood as they might chance to do. The dance consisted in retreating a few steps and advancing to the first position. Some old women danced around the entire group of people, singing the same song as the other dancers. The first of these songs was received in a dream by Ciko, who was one of the singers at this ceremony.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

The old man seemed glad to explain everything. He was also willing to sell me some of his treasures. One of them was a medicine-man's plume consisting of four eagle plumes tied together so that they diverged two by two. When used, these are held by the quill ends as a handle and moved in the air forward and backward as if dusting an object. When the young girls come of age they are "dusted" in this way from all evil. The implement was new and well made, and I wanted to buy it. "The plume is very valuable," he answered; "with us it is at least worth as much as a horse or a cow." He would, however, make it easy for me by letting me have it for $2.50. I presented him with a pouch of tobacco and a handful of candy, the cause of much interest to his little grandchildren who had been clinging to the good-natured old man all the time that he was explaining. He also promised to show me the so-called Montezuma's Cave, in the peak of Baboquivari, some day.

In a light wagon which Pablo borrowed we started on an excursion south, to be possibly extended beyond the border to Pozo Verde. The day was moist and warm. We passed several extensive summer rancherias or temporales as they are usually called. The rude fences of mezquite looked substantial and the Indian ranches gave an impression of prosperity. At two places there were dams also fenced in, but they were empty; they had been made by scooping up the rich soil with scrapers and horse-power. The water in such ponds lasts only three or four months and is not for irrigating purposes, but solely for the use of men and beasts. The

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

586 father of the girl would decide to whip her with a rope of rawhide to bring her to the proper way of thinking.

841 Certain periods of female life are looked upon with awe, even by the civilized Papago. If a hunter touches a woman at these times he will have bad luck or contract some disease. Formerly a girl in this condition could not touch her hair. If she wanted to scratch herself, it would have to be done with a stick, and even her
●881 brother could not touch his hair. When the girls come of age, dancing and singing are kept up for many nights in succession in a very fatiguing fashion, as neither rest nor food is taken. No intoxicating drinks are partaken of, and one marvels at the exertions that primitive man finds it necessary to undertake in order that the girl may be started right in life. Formerly these ceremonies, each time lasting four nights, had to be performed on four occasions, and even thus the girl has to go for a few days'
[343] seclusion to the *hobólikaki*, a house specially set apart for women considered temporarily impure. The dan-
534 cing on such occasions consists of a forward and back-
881 ward rhythmical movement of two rows of men and women facing each other and at the same time slowly moving in a circle. The participants hold each other by the hand, and the movements are in time with the singing, four steps forward and four backward. In Quitovac where the Indians have been much influenced by the Mexicans, although they have given up the dancing part of the performances, the singing is kept up for eight nights or more in succession.

844 When the woman feels that her hour is approaching,

614 he belonged, but was not forbidden to marry within it. In the same way the whole country was divided into ceremonial halves or moieties known as Buzzard and Coyote. This 46 custom is similar to that of the Mission Indians, distant language relatives of the Papagos. But whereas the moieties of the Mission Indians forbade marriage of one moiety member with another and have given to the moiety many ceremonial duties, the Papagos know Buzzard and Coyote as names only and there are no rules or ceremonies connected with them.

841 Many of the old Papago ceremonies dealing with birth 864 and death are no longer practiced but there are enough 846 old people living so that we can at least have an account of them. A mother, about to give birth to a child, went to a separate hut kept for "dangerous women." Not only women in childbirth but women in their periods came under this heading, for the strange power of reproduction seemed to the Papagos fraught with magic and death. The new mother remained in this segregation hut for a month before she and her baby might emerge. Then the medicine man gave them both a mixture of clay to drink while he pronounced a purification formula.

● 881 Young children were continually urged to be industrious for this was the supreme Papago virtue. Boys were [571 461] expected to have a dream which would tell them what career to choose and give them power to follow it. Girls usually did not dream but when they reached maturity a special ceremony was held for them. The girls were kept apart from others for four days, then bathed and brought out to dance with the whole village. Sometimes this dance continued every night for a month, and at the end of that time the strange new power which had visited the girl was thought to be tamed. Her parents soon visited the par- 582 ents of an industrious youth and arranged that the two should be mated. There was no marriage ceremony other than the coming of the boy to the girl's house and taking her home with him after four days. They lived with the